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## PROBLEMS OF EAST — WEST TRADE

Dr. Vladimir VELEBIT

State Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs

EAST-WEST trade does not con-  
note the flow of commodities  
from East to West and vice versa as  
might be inferred from the narrow in-  
terpretation of this term. Two groups  
of countries are usually implied by  
this term at present. The East consists  
of countries belonging to the Warsaw  
Pact and the Council for Mutual Eco-  
nomic Assistance to which we may also  
add People's China which although an  
observer and not a member of the  
Council is always included in this  
group. The West consists, roughly  
speaking, of the NATO members, the  
OEEC countries and other countries of  
Western Europe. Consequently this  
division is not regional or geographic  
but manifestly political. The political  
differentiation during the post war pe-  
riod exerted such a strong influence

on economic events that it created  
two economically divided and opposed  
areas. The existence of the Soviet  
Union before the war as a separate  
economic region with a different so-  
cial and economic system did not re-  
present a major economic problem for  
the other European countries. Also in  
the past commodity exchange with  
Imperial Russia evolved on a relatively  
modest scale and the changes which  
took place in trade after the consoli-  
dation of the socialist revolution were  
not of any major significance for the  
European economy. A qualitatively  
new situation occurred only after World  
War II when a demarcation line was  
drawn through Europe and when two  
separate political areas began crys-  
tallising as a result of the changes which  
took place. It ensues therefrom that

a new situation was created on the ba-  
sis of political events and that poli-  
tical considerations were dominant  
and characteristic for this division,  
while the other economic factors  
such as the level of economic develop-  
ment, business traditions, the existence  
and density of communications, raw  
materials resources to mention only a  
few were invested with a secondary  
significance.

Ever since the international divi-  
sion of labour led to and developed  
commodity exchange and trade, po-  
litical considerations and factors al-  
ways determined its scope, substance,  
growth or decline. The political aspect  
of trade, especially international trade  
is nothing new or unusual. It is only  
the significance acquired by political  
relations in international trade and



especially in East-West relations that is of a more recent date. This is entirely understandable when the vast new influence of the state and government apparatus in the economy of every country is borne in mind. This new role of the state as an economic regulator is felt not only in the eastern but to an ever greater extent also in the western states which figure as the exponents of liberal conceptions in world trade.

Pre war international trade was destroyed and disrupted by the outbreak of hostilities between the leading industrial and commercial powers of the world. It was never re-established in the previous form. The deep political division of Europe resulted in the creation of separate economic areas which isolated themselves and developed internally to an ever greater extent more or less ignoring the processes which were taking part outside of their respective territories. This led to the creation of new business ties, the discovery of new markets and the orientation of production to new buyers on the one hand, while old business relations and traditional markets were abandoned and neglected on the other.

Meanwhile extremely significant structural changes took place especially in the eastern countries. These countries adopted a policy aiming at rapid industrialization and were transformed to an ever greater extent from producers of raw materials and agricultural commodities into producers of industrial products. This of course gave rise to far reaching changes in the structure of their foreign trade.

Continuing to ignore all these facts to this very day many western economists cannot conceive East-West trade otherwise than as an exchange of the eastern farm products including also foodstuffs for western industrial goods. It should be realized once for all that such conceptions are out-dated and quite untenable. The role of the East as an agricultural producer is steadily diminishing so that these countries often appear as importers of foodstuffs. Its rapidly expanding industry is consuming ever larger quantities of raw materials which were formerly export surpluses and which are consequently appearing to an ever smaller extent on the eastern export lists.

To a far greater degree than the West, the East changed its former complexion as a foreign trade partner hence completely altering the basis of foreign trade. In view of this fact we could speak at length of two new units

which have only recently begun establishing mutual trade relations. The creation and development of such relations is neither an easy nor a rapid process. The fundamental economic conceptions are vastly different. It is through trade that the planned centralized state economies come in touch with the economies and enterprises based on private ownership and liberalist traditions. The contact of the two systems must create a series of difficulties some of which cannot be overcome so easily. Moreover as these countries lost all their previous business relations during the war and the post war period they are now obliged to start establishing business relations from scratch and on a new basis. This is a difficult pioneering task which requires a lot of time and ability of adjustment to the new objective conditions. Only when all this is borne in mind, can all the results accomplished in this field so far be really and objectively assessed. It seems that these relevant moments are frequently being neglected.

In examining the volume of trade many observers note the very small volume and slow movement of trade. Thus for instance the fact is cited that the East accounted for about 10 percent of aggregate western foreign trade in 1938, while dropping to less than 4 percent in 1955. Is such a comparison possible and justified? Surely not, because a series of extremely important categories have been neglected which have vitally changed the whole situation and occasioned essential changes so that one can no longer speak of comparable units.

Today's international trade is not a continuance of pre-war trade but a new and different process which evolves between different partners, on new principles and under different conditions.

A large interval of the post-war period was marked by particular tension between East and West. The cold war was an extremely unsuitable climate for the progress of so delicate a plant as the newly created East-West trade relations. Apart from the general unfavourable conditions for the development of trade the cold war gave rise to administration measures which aimed at the suppression of the free flow of trade. These measures varied from the embargo on the trade of some strategic materials for the purpose of preventing the growth of the military potential of the other side, to the actual administrative prevention of their

own firms from establishing business relations with the enterprises of the other side. These measures doubtless had a negative effect and impeded the normal increase of trade but it seems that the actual significance of these measures was exaggerated and that consequences were attributed to them which they actually did not have nor could have had. Full use of these restrictions and barriers was made for propaganda purposes as proofs of the illwill and aggressive intentions of the antagonist.

Under such unusual and genuinely difficult conditions East-West trade was unable to gain momentum. It stagnated from 1949-1955. This means that in terms of absolute figures it remained on the same level throughout the whole period. In the light of the increase of world trade in general, and trade within every economic area the maintenance of trade on the same level implies relative decline and recession.

Apart from all these negative elements which contributed to the restriction and reduction of trade there were also positive endeavours which aimed at the creation of the necessary possibilities for the development of East-West trade while devoting due attention to the newly created factors and objective difficulties which certainly existed. Among those who distinguished themselves by their constructive efforts one should primarily mention the Economic Commission for Europe and the initiative of Dr. Gunnar Myrdal its Executive Secretary. They refused to be discouraged by this situation and modestly but persistently endeavoured to restore East-West trade. This organization was extremely suitable for such an action in view of its structure, as it represented the only platform on which the East-West representatives met and on which they could state their views and establish contact on economic problems. Thus a meeting was held at the initiative of the OEEC in the summer of 1948 which was devoted exclusively to the problems of European and especially East-West trade. It cannot be said that this first meeting yielded any concrete or encouraging results. However it assigned priority to this problem and enabled it to be kept on the agenda. A special committee for East-West trade within the OEEC was created somewhat later for the purpose of ending that deadlock which prevailed on this problem. The first symptoms of improvement and increase of East-West trade



appeared only in as late as 1956 and this upward trend continued also in 1957. These are still extremely modest beginnings so that the 1947 level of trade, namely before the outbreak of the cold war was reached only recently. There can be no doubt however that many of the initial difficulties have been overcome. The western firms have acquired a fair amount of knowledge and experience in their dealings with the state enterprises of the East, while the East became acquainted with the goods available for exports and understood that they can no longer count on the East as a purveyor of agricultural raw materials. The new eastern enterprises have likewise developed new business relations with the western market and acquainted the latter with their new goods and assortment. Consequently objective conditions have been created which are favourable and may enable a faster upswing of trade in the future. The circumstan-

ce should be borne in mind that these regions are now industrialized and that they should observe the rule that commodity exchange between the industrial countries is developing faster than between the industrial and underdeveloped countries.

It is therefore only necessary to improve the political climate still further, this being an indispensable platform for the promotion of economic ties. The events during the past few months vouchsafe a certain degree of cautious optimism. The wish was stated on both sides to increase trade and economic cooperation and will certainly prove a stimulant for enterprises which deal in business operations. On the other hand, the tendency to increase trade can have a favourable effect on the abatement of tension, because a certain confidence and mutual understanding is necessary which will lead to a new higher level of trade and cooperation in the political field.

co-operative societies cover every imaginable aspect of our farming, embracing all branches of buying, producing and selling. These societies have as their members not just a number of the individual farmers, but actually all farmers within larger or smaller areas as far as the activities of the societies are at all of any concern to those farmers daily life. It might by the way be of interest some day to evaluate even scientifically the likenesses and the differences both practically and ideologically between this form of economic co-operation and that what is intended, and achieved by nationalization of the various kinds known so differently in all countries of the world.

Of course, in Denmark the co-operative movement has spread beyond the framework of agriculture proper. No branch of our productive or even political and social life can be found where the idea of organised co-operation as far as in fact applicable has not made itself useful. Our industry and shipping based on the principle of private initiative, and showing during the last decades remarkable growth and ability to compete internationally, also bear witness of a willingness to cooperate within themselves and with other productive strata, most certainly including the workers movements which is basically very much akin to the ideas behind the co-operative movement proper.

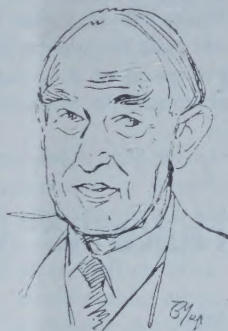
So, the whole structure of Danish economic life is one of pooling efforts towards a common goal, at the same time jealously maintaining the freedom of the individuals. It is the self-interest of each single citizen and no compulsion from without which has created, sometimes against heavy odds and a fiercely competitive world a working society where in the words of one of our famous poets „few have too much and even fewer too little“.

Socially for well over half a century the aim of Parliament and of Government has been to create such conditions that no one willing to work is ever in danger of not being able to sustain himself and his family. Social security has further-more been developed with the goal, now practically reached, that those who on account of old age, illness or invalidity or for any other reason cannot themselves earn a living are entitled to receive temporarily or indefinitely as the case may be what is necessary to maintain a decent existence, this, of course, leaving all their civil rights intact.

## ON THE EVE OF MR. HANSEN'S VISIT

# Contemporary Denmark

Karl J. ESKELUND  
Danish Ambassador to Yugoslavia



In connection with the forthcoming visit of the Danish Premier Mr. H. C. Hansen to Yugoslavia our editors requested the Danish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Belgrade Dr. Karl Eskelund to acquaint our readers with the internal development and international position of his country.

Kindly complying with our request, Ambassador Eskelund sent us the following article:

DENMARK wears her own face. Though co-operating closely in many ways with many countries she always has and always will insist on her individuality. Our history more than a thousand years has been one of gradually, sometimes not quite voluntarily, being freed of lands and populations which did not form a natural part of what has now emerged as the Danish realm and the Danish people: a national and territorial unity unblended and very conscious thereof.

Economically Denmark has not had easy going. Our soil is not very rich and only hard work has made fertile large stretches of lands which were not more than a century ago practically waste-lands. Now, thanks to the industry and thrift of our farmers, and quite especially to their talent for organisation, virtually every square foot of land is some way or other yielding its good crop.

The co-operative movement has reached a rather high degree of perfection. It is not too much to say that



Finally in the field of education, in the primary (compulsory) schools and there after in secondary schools, technical schools of every kind and in universities, abundant opportunities are given to every child, young man and young girl to acquire whichever training they want, the economic situation of the parents having been eliminated as a consideration of any importance.

Politically democracy is deeply rooted in many periods of our ancient and in all of our recent history. The freely expressed will of the people is the law of the land. The opposition, proportionally represented in Parliament as in all local governments and municipal councils will certainly criticise, even vehemently, but never to the degree of challenging the right and the duty of the majority to act and to rule according to its political concepts.

Finally only a few words on Denmark's position and politics internationally. Our people like every other people in the world wants peace and as it was recently pointed out by our

Prime Minister, Mr. H. C. Hansen, will have no stone left unturned to explore means and ways of securing and safeguarding this first and paramount objective of international politics. We want to live in friendship with not only our near or more remote neighbours, but with the peoples of all continents. To those countries whose natural resources are not yet fully developed — and in many countries they are far from being it — we wish to be given all assistance possible towards a future where every human being of whatever race or creed may be able to live in happiness and with no fear for the tomorrow, exactly as, and to no smaller degree than what we wish for ourselves. We think the United Nations is humanity's best hope. Ever since it was created we have given it all possible support. In our opinion the UN is not only the best instrument, if wisely used, to guide the peoples toward a future in freedom for want and fear in peace. I much fear if it fails, or if we fail in using it, that it might prove to be the very last steppingstone into nothingness.

itinated were qualified as the crime of murder under the present and that time Yugoslav criminal code, and at the same time as serious international crimes in the sense of the present instruments and interpretation of international criminal law. Extradition was demanded in accordance with the agreement on extradition concluded between the USA and the former Kingdom of Serbia in 1901/2 which is still in power. Substantial evidence was attached to the indictment (eyewitness statements, written documents, decrees, laws etc.).

After being placed in custody Artuković lodged a complaint during the previous „habeas corpus“ procedure in which he generally denied all the charges and evidence while advancing two major objections: that the 1901/2 Treaty on Extradition is no longer valid, and even if it were that Article 6 of this instrument explicitly states that political offences are exempt from extradition and that it is immediately obvious from the Yugoslav charges and evidence that precisely political crimes are involved in this case. Artuković supplemented these objections by the falsification of historical events, figuring as a political opponent of today's Yugoslavia, with a view to convincing the court and particularly certain circles of the US public opinion that his extradition is sought for reasons of political vengeance.

This gave rise to a series of complications which led to endless court hearings, innumerable written representations, two decisions of the district court, one of the Court of Appeal and two of the Supreme Court while the proceedings were still in the preliminary stage. As it was legally established that the 1901/2 agreement on extradition is still valid, the main objection of Artuković became null and void (this took three years) the district court and Court of Appeal, without examining the evidence on its merits brought analogous decisions to the effect that it is immediately obvious that political offences are in question and that there can be no mention of extradition. Owing to the special legal demarche (Writ of Certiorari) of the Yugoslav representative against these incorrect and truly monstrous decisions, the US Supreme Court at last brought its present decision which set the whole case in the right path. The Supreme Court annulled the previous decisions, ordered the arrest of Artuković and a public hearing on the merits of the evidence and indictment before the com-

## ON EXTRADITION OF A WAR CRIMINAL

# New Phase in Artuković Case

Dr. Albert VAJS

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BY THE DECISION of the US Supreme Court of February 20, 1957, the extradition proceedings of the war criminal Andrija Artuković which are continuing for seven years already has entered a new phase. It seems that a turning point has been reached which warrants certain hopes for a prompt and more correct solution of this case which by its moral and legal implications and complexity is gradually becoming a „cause célèbre“.

Without any pretence of giving a detailed history or analysis of its previous phases, the various problems of procedure and legal theory, as well as the relevant provisions of the Yugoslav, US and international law we will only dwell on certain points which may be of broader interest.

As known the indictment of the district public prosecutors office in

Zagreb which constitutes the legal basis of the Yugoslav demand for extradition, charges Artuković for mass murders in which he took part directly as the executive, inciter and collaborator especially in 1942 and 1941 when he held the post of „minister for the interior“ in the quisling government of the so-called Independent State of Croatia, the puppet state of the nazi and fascist occupying forces. Apart from this responsibility for the death of hundreds of thousands of victims belonging to the civilian population, the indictment covers also 1,239 identified murders, among which several hundred little children and old men and women, 47 Orthodox and 48 Jewish clergymen and many other people who were killed only because they belonged to the Serbian nationality or the Jewish confession. The deeds incre-



petent judiciary organ (Commissioner). All this took another three years.

In view of the previous experiences to embark on too a serious prognosis and disappointments we would not wish as to the further course and duration of the proceedings. Artuković should now be returned to custody. According to the predominant attitude of the US judicature, release on bail is not permissible in case of crimes for which capital or other serious punishments are foreseen. Nonetheless bail is to a certain extent the discretionary power of the first degree court. Other procedural delays and manœuvres are also possible to which Artuković will certainly take recourse as he has done so far, in as far as those who are protecting him do not enable him to flee.

However, according to the normal course of events, a public hearing is due on the essential factual and legal arguments. As for the facts on the crimes and Artuković's direct share in them the Yugoslav evidence is extensive and concrete so that it is most unlikely that his defence will be able to disprove any of the more serious crimes. Consequently it seems that the legal appraisal of the proven facts will be the main point of discussion. As shown by the previous procedure it is here that the Yugoslav attitude and that of Artuković are completely divergent. The correct or incorrect interpretation of a political offence is at stake.

Artuković has so far tried to prove that the crimes listed in the indictment are political inasmuch as they refer to him as he was „minister“ in a „government“, and that consequently it is acts of state, or at worst political but never criminal responsibility that is in question. He also strove to substantiate this claim by invoking inadequate and long since obsolete precedents from the US judicature. Apart from this, he is striving to prove that war crimes are a kind of sub-category of political crimes and that the mass nature of the murders charged also proves that it is war namely political crimes that are involved in this concrete case.

By contrast the attitude of the Yugoslav government and its representatives could be summed up as follows.

The crimes charged are primarily ordinary murder crimes punishable under the criminal laws of Yugoslavia, the USA or whatever civilized country. They are also serious international crimes (namely against humanity). However the convergence of both le-

gal elements in concrete acts is not precluded but even frequent. Most war crimes and crimes against humanity coincided with the corresponding general criminal acts and differ only by their vast scope, cruelty and special conditions under which they were committed. Ever since the classics of International Law the opinion gained increasing currency that such crimes are punishable criminal offences and today this conception has been elaborated and confirmed by a series of international law instruments, through the legal practice of many countries and the dominant attitude of doctrine. The war crimes and crimes against humanity can be and indeed frequently are general crimes, so that they can no longer be considered political offences.

As for the individual criminal-legal responsibility for such crimes, the conception also predominated that all crimes of politicians and statesmen are not necessarily political crimes, and that neither the highest public office, nor superior order can free the perpetrators of such crimes from responsibility and punishment.

It is clear that the mass character of the crimes cannot be an argument for their political nature as this would lead to the absurd conclusion that the murder of one man is a more serious crime than the massacre of thousands of people.

There can be no doubt that the signatories of the agreement on extradition of 1901/2 57 years ago could not have foreseen such crimes when they exempted political offences from extradition. Moreover international agreements must be interpreted according to the standards adopted at the time of their concrete application.

The aforementioned principled attitude is not specifically Yugoslav. It developed through national and international theory and practice in many countries and is today the dominant conception in the international community primarily in the United Nations. It is also unequivocally formulated in the status and decisions of the international military courts of Nuremberg and Tokyo, in several resolutions of the United Nations and a series of multilateral international declarations and treaties. The USA also played a prominent part in the enactment and application of these instruments. Apart from this, the leading US statesmen, their delegates in the United Nations, their military courts in the occupation zones, have also essentially confirmed such an attitude by a number of sta-

tements declarations, votes and decisions.

The Artuković case is the first in which the extradition of a criminal of this kind from US territory is demanded. It is therefore fairly understandable that the American judicature is approaching this matter with a certain degree of vacillation and under the influence of certain conservative traditions. It should also be borne in mind to a certain extent that some of the aforementioned international instruments have not been ratified by the US internal legislation. Is it likewise true that under the US practice even such „executive agreements“ of governments are also invested with a deep significance for the judicature and cannot be avoided. It is no less a fact that the US extradited a certain number of similar criminals from their occupation zones, just as the US military courts condemned many similar and even lesser criminals than Artuković to death and other similar punishments. Legally, logically and morally it would be difficult to reconcile oneself to the fact the attitudes of different organs of one and the same country can be diametrically opposed where such fundamental and principled problems are concerned.

Consequently by its final decision in this matter the US judicature should say whether the wholesale massacre of frail children, helpless old men and women, and peaceful and innocent people for purely ethical or religious reasons is considered a political offence or the gravest ordinary and war crime. The former decision would mean that wish to reverse the wheel of history and deny the major moral achievements formulated in the mandatory documents and doctrines of international law which were born from the gigantic struggle of the freedom loving peoples, the indescribable hardship and suffering of millions of victims, and the victory over fascism.

The discovery, extradition, trial and punishment of criminals such as Artuković were one of the main objectives of the Grand Alliance during World War II. The compromising of this aim would, in this case, be almost tantamount to an offer of political asylum to such miscreants.

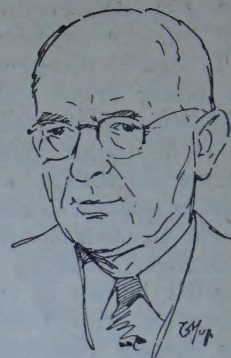
We believe that such a decision of the American judicature would be morally, politically and legally intolerable both for Yugoslavia as well as the overwhelming majority of honest men and women in the USA and the world at large.



## SITUATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Ljubomir RADOVANOVIĆ

Ambassador in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs



THE MIDDLE East has become one of the standing themes of the international chronicle — a theme that never completely vanishes from the columns of the world press. This applies above all to the closer Near East area, particularly in the last two years. It has always been an area of lively political activity and international interest — because of oil, because of the Suez Canal, because of active inter-Arab disputes, because of conflicts between the former mandatory powers, and because of the resistance of the people gave to the latter's endeavours to retain their positions. But in spite of all these factors of international development, the significance of this area has, for the most part, been regional. Its problems — if the word is applicable — were of a local character, and their complications rarely went beyond the borders of the area. Some time ago, however, the history of the Middle East took a new turn. This happened when the Middle East area was included in the broad designs of bloc policy, which aimed at establishing security on a world scale; and these combinations exposed the area to new divergences of the foreign powers, and gave rise to new resistance on the part of the Arab peoples, who wished to safeguard their independence. A struggle between the blocs for political and strategic positions in that area ensued — a struggle involving it in a tangle of problems in which the contending interests of the Western and Eastern blocs, that is, of the leading powers in these blocs, opposed each other, and took an acute form. As a result of these developments, the Middle East is now not only an area with its own regional problems, but also one of the spheres where international policy has assumed significance, its actions affecting countries and relations even outside that area.

In the conflict of objectives and tendencies the Middle East has not retained its passive role. Parallel with this conflict and with the increased activity of the individual powers to draw the Middle East, or parts of it, into their various security policies, and that of other powers to prevent this, there has developed in these countries, and especially in the Arab zone, an ever stronger movement for the winning and consolidation of full national and political independence — a movement inspired by the spirit of resistance to alien efforts to draw these areas into their own political spheres. For years Egypt struggled with Great Britain for her independence, for evacuation of British troops, and for the solution of the Suez problem. In other Arab countries too, a struggle was going on for the removal of foreign influences which hindered the development of their independent life, as in Jordan; or against influences and pressures with the object of imposing a different political course on them, as in Syria. This struggle grew into a wider Arab movement, which characterized the struggle for the affirmation of Arab nationalism, independence and neutrality, and which spread to the Arab population, not only in those countries whose Governments took the lead in this movement, but also in those whose Governments continued to pursue their former policy.

Today this is probably the basic characteristic of the situation in the Near East. But it has created a situation in which contradiction and problems, regional and general, as

well as conflicting interests, intermingle and merge in a single complex in which the working factors have different tendencies and operate in various directions. The paths of political action cross each other and political aims clash in this complex, which is described, perhaps rather too simply, as the Middle East problem.

Without making any detailed analyses, we shall try, in this short article, to resolve this complex problem into its basic parts.

First of all, the Near East presents two distinctly separate areas, each with different problems. Those in the northern and eastern belts are different (or have a different aspect) from those in the centre and in the southern and western belts, called the Near East. Hence their merging into a single regional concept according to the geographical criterion, is artificial and incorrect. It would be difficult, for example, to find common components for the policies of Iran and Pakistan or Yemen and Jordan. Attempts however, are being made and great efforts exerted to bring the whole of this area under an identical security combination. But only result of these endeavours has been the failure to impose such a conception on the area as a whole, and the great dislocations which they have caused in the relations between the countries in that area. The history of the Bagdad Pact, which was based on similar conception of the security problem, viewed onesidedly and from the bloc standpoint, clearly illustrates the incompatibility of such concepts with the actual conditions prevailing in that area.

There is, nevertheless, a factor which might have formed the basis of a joint policy for these two parts of the Middle East — at least within the limited framework of its operation, and that is oil. But even this has not proved to be a common factor in the linking of the interests of all the Middle East countries. The oil countries have never pursued a joint oil policy, let alone a general common policy. The Middle and Near East countries which possess oil wells, and the countries through which the oil is transported would have both a reason and a basis for pursuing a joint — all the more so as the exploitation of oil is in the hands of foreigners — but this factor has not influenced the development of their economic and political cooperation. Instead of oil bringing these countries together, it has brought together only the oil companies which carry on business on their territories.

In the relations between the countries of the northern and eastern belts, where Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are situated, the effect of regional interests, common to these countries has never been manifested — interests which would serve as a basis for a common policy — and that is why such a policy has never existed among them. Nor should the pre-war period of the Saadabad Pact be excluded from this verdict — a pact in which Iran and Turkey participated, in addition to Iraq and Afghanistan, but which produced no practical results and was discontinued without any formal notice of termination. This also applies to the Bagdad Pact, in which each partner has separate and private aims, quite different from those announced in the agreement. Besides this, no problem affecting the Near East countries, including the great Arab-Israeli dispute, arouses any direct interest among the countries of the



rest of the Middle East while no problem of these latter countries, not even that of security, — as viewed by the Bagdad Pact countries — has any interest for the Arab countries.

In contrast to the northern and eastern belt of the Middle East which — except geographically and as far as religion is concerned has no integral political entity, the Near East constitutes a whole as far as such objective factor as national criterion, popular aspirations, economic conditions and common interests are concerned. In a sense, although not completely, all the misfortunes which the peoples of the Near East have suffered and are suffering, were caused by the fact that the manifestation and creation of this community was checked by internal counter-actions and external pressure and interferences. The forces of Arab unity and Arab solidarity which exist among the people have not been sufficiently strong to destroy these internal counter-tendencies or to external pressure — but they have never been weak enough to be stifled by them. This is the reason for the constant struggle between them which at various times, developed at the expense of one or the other group.

In the political development of the Near East there operated in addition to a number of other factors, three basic factors which hindered the normal process of the stabilization of peace and consolidation of international relations, thus checking economic progress. The first is the interference of foreign powers in the foreign and internal policies of these countries, the second is the Arab-Israeli dispute, and the third is inter-Arab conflict.

The interference of foreign powers in foreign and internal affairs is traditional phenomenon in the Near East, where inter-Arab conflicts have been exploited in various ways. This has not been abandoned even today, although its character has changed, especially after the liquidation of the positions and influence of the former mandatory powers, which in the main balanced the military intervention against Egypt.

In the period of the bloc organizing of military systems of collective security, the strategic significance of the Middle East was increased. Hence the countries in this area were subjected to pressure exerted by way of diplomatic action and political and economic measures, with a view to forcing them to accept the definite concepts of bloc policy, and allow to be included in the corresponding military and political organizations. It was natural that such efforts should provoke reaction on the other side and the resistance of those countries which wished to preserve the independent and neutral policy which they had hitherto pursued, reliving that it best answered their interests. However, this development of events led to the dislocation of inter-state relation in this area, and to divergences in the basic lines of the foreign policy of these countries. The tendencies towards bloc determination and the adoption of the bloc policy manifested by certain Middle East countries when they joined the Bagdad Pact organization (which most of the Arab countries rejected), led to sharply

opposed attitudes among the Middle and Near East countries, and disturbed relations between these countries and the powers which tried to impose such policy on them.

The second factor which acts unfavourably on the political development of the Near East lies in inter-Arab conflicts. These are manifested not as contradictions between the Arab peoples but between the Arab Governments. Formerly they resulted from rival interests of the Arab dynasties and the clash of their political plans and ambitions, as well as from the mutual intolerance which reigned among them. Today they are expressed in the resistance which Arab monarchies offer to the united movement of Arab nationalism and Arab unification, headed by the United Arab Republic. The very act of the union of Iraq and Jordan directly after the proclamation of Egyptian-Syrian Union, characterizes the monarchical defence against the general movement of Arab Unification, which started with the creation of the United Arab Republic. The change in the policy of Saudi Arabia, which abandoned the agreements concluded earlier with Egypt and Syria on a joint Arab policy in defence of their independence, is also an expression of resistance to the united Arab policy under the leadership of the Republic. Similar moves played a significant role in the political change carried out in Jordan early last year by means of a court coup.

And finally the Arab-Israeli dispute, although in a different way, is also a source of political difficulties in the Near East. The Arab-Israeli quarrel is, on the one hand a factor in the strengthening of Arab solidarity, and the Arabs, uncompromising attitude towards the Israelis is a measure of that solidarity. On the other hand this dispute is a constant source of the conflict and unrest which dominates Arab policy and directly or indirectly motivates all Arab actions. The tragedy of this dispute lies in the fact that the only solution which the Arab countries might accept is impossible under present international conditions while complete stabilizations of peace in the Near East is equally impossible without the settlement of this dispute.

The present situation in the Middle and Near East may be characterized in the same way. The ways leading from various centres and converging in the policy conducted there do not correspond to the actual conditions or interest of the countries in that area. The path to complete independence and solidarity in solving the common problem of security, internal peace and economic progress, is paved with difficulties, owing to the intersecting interests of the individual factors which operate in that area. It is a great consolation, however, that consciousness of the correctness and need to follow that path is penetrating ever more widely and deeply into the soul of those countries' citizens. This has now reached the highest point in the Arab countries. The movement of Arab unity, embodied in the creation of the United Arab Republic, may be considered the herald of a brighter epoch in the history of the Near East.

## RAPACKI PLAN AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

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THE favourable reaction to the proposal for the creation of a non-atom zone in Central Europe led to the publication recently of a memorandum in which the Polish Government set out in greater detail the basic elements of its plan. The idea, originally set forth by the Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki at the twelfth session of the UN General Assembly, can now be discussed more widely. It is an idea which a large part of the international public and a number

of official representatives of many countries have hailed as a useful move as a proposal which promises, if put into effect, to end the deadlock and initiate talks on some of the basic matters in dispute regarding relations between the two blocs. Thus, in solving these questions in a restricted field it should be possible to conclude agreements on a wider scale and contribute not only to the strengthening of international peace



and security, but also the creation of a uniform system of collective security.

The belief in the impossibility of putting into practice the idea of general collective security laid down by the UN Charter, whose roots may be traced to the formation of two blocs of powers and whose material basis lies in the armament race and the balance of forces between the great powers, would undoubtedly be seriously shaken by the adoption of the Polish proposal, the aim of which is to create a joint mechanism for control of the banning of production, stock piling, and the use of atomic weapons on territory which is certainly one of the most sensitive areas of the world. There is no doubt, therefore, that discussions about this plan, which should be comprehensive, may have a far-reaching effect, which will not be confined to the general problem of disarmament and prohibition of atomic weapons, but will include a number of political problems connected with the division of Germany into two states, the general problem of the bloc division of the world, and strategic and other questions which actually led to the break in disarmament talks. From this one may conclude that the Polish Plan, fixing the general problems to a definite territorial area, is aimed, not so much at restricting the disputed questions, which would be considered as a first step towards achieving agreements between the great powers, but at concluding agreements on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the organizing of control over the non-atomic zone, as well as solving relevant political questions, thus carrying out a test whose success would lead to solutions affecting the whole international community. Hence, no matter how understandable the tendency is to set aside certain questions so as not to hinder further negotiations, the very fact, that closer and more comprehensive examination of the control mechanism is linked with proposals submitted earlier, may lead to the opinion that in such a case future discussion would be too greatly influenced by the consideration of those aspects of control of disarmament and prohibition of atomic energy which have been the chief obstacle in efforts to solve these same questions on a much wider plane.

This characteristic of the Polish Plan to which we would draw attention, is important in appraising it, particularly because of a series of questions of international law which have not been elaborated in it. While their significance should not be over-estimated, in view of the fact that their solution is linked with the reaching of a corresponding political understanding between the parties called upon to conclude an agreement on the non-atom zone, some of these questions of international law may also be of wider value, and not merely to express directly the need to find the proper legal and technical solution as the formal expression of political agreement. It is certain that jurists would relatively easily establish the modalities to regulate the composition of control organs and their competence, provided the interested powers determined the principles; nor would the form of the instrument present major difficulties, if all the powers to which the plan refers agreed to concur, regardless of the general state of their political relations.

However, it is a different matter when we consider those obligations which apply to the material clauses of the Polish proposals on the prohibition of atomic armaments and their use on the territories of states which are to constitute the non-atom zone. This problem is in connection with the proposed solution, particularly significant from the viewpoint of international law, especially because the adoption of such a prohibition would confirm the possibility of the use of atomic weapons on a world scale. The partial banning of atomic weapons, which would result from the adoption of the Rapacki Plan, would leave the question of the general prohibition of atomic weapons in all its aspects still outstanding. For the obligations undertaken by the great powers in connection with the area covered by the non-atom would not contain any wider significance for the solution of this question. These countries

would be left free to work on the perfection of atomic weapons and could use them in the event of an armed conflict in other parts of the world. This is not simply a matter of dispute for those jurists who hold that atomic weapons have already been prohibited on the basis of the existing international law, and who consider that this prohibition can only be confirmed today. What is involved is the need for emphasizing that an agreement on the banning of atomic weapons on the territory of the non-atom zone should be extended to all countries which possess such weapons, and that in evaluating the actual scope of the Polish Plan on this subject, it could be considered only the first step, the first positive act which might open the way for concluding a general agreement on the banning of atomic arms. Whether it would be useful to say so explicitly in the new agreement under consideration is another question, and one which calls for special discussion.

Of equal if not greater significance is the question of the Polish Plan in relation to a possible general conflict in this area. In creating a non-atom zone and prohibiting the use of the atomic weapons, the question of conventional armaments is left untouched. Leaving aside the prohibition of war as laid down in the Charter — also unmentioned in connection with the atomic weapons — the plan allows for the possibility of a conflict in which conventional means of warfare would be used. Thus this zone can neither be considered neutralized nor demilitarized, but only a kind of semi-demilitarized territory whose status necessarily calls for further definition, which the Polish plan also envisages. Although it is indisputable that the prohibition of atomic weapons and their stockpiling on this territory might eliminate the most serious consequences of war, the problem appears more extensive if the simple fact is borne in mind that wars can still be fought with conventional armaments, which constitute a very significant factor in the evaluation of the balance of forces between the great powers. This gives rise to the very important problem of guarantees, which cannot be ignored if one remembers that the possibility of the outbreak of armed conflict has not been done away with, although all member-countries of the United Nations, including the powers to which the Rapacki Plan refers, solemnly undertook, in the UN Charter, not to use force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any country. This is why the inclusion of a statement to this effect, in unilateral declarations or common agreements, might contribute to the adoption of the Polish proposal. A formal declaration of this type might be understood as a definite move to base the Polish plan legally on the general clauses of the UN Charter and on the activity of this organization, which might practically and comprehensively concern itself with the mechanism of control envisaged by this plan. The General Secretary of UNO, too, might become the depositary of the corresponding instruments of international law.

Finally we should like to stress once more that the remarks set forth here indicate the great political significance of the Polish proposal, which constitutes a definite attempt to extricate the present-day world from the critical situation to which it has been brought by the bloc policy of the great powers. This is an attempt to start negotiations between the two antagonistic blocs on general disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons. And all the nations, whether or not they belong to blocs, are ready to hail any practical agreement which would provide for the consolidation of the present international situation and the further successful development to international cooperation and peace in the world.



## Way to Relaxation of Tension

Finn MOE

Chairman of the Foreign-Political Committee in the Norwegian Parliament

The article by Helmut Kalbitzer Socialdemocratic deputy to the Bundestag was published in last issue of this Review. The questions asked by the editors in this inquiry were as follows:

1. Do you consider that East — West negotiations would contribute to a relaxation of international tension and if so, what should be done to bring them about?
2. What level of talks and what composition with regard to personalities would, in your opinion best correspond to the present international constellation and offer the best prospects of success?
3. What should be the principal points on the agenda of such a conference and to which problems would you personally assign priority?

In this issue we are publishing the answers given us in the form of a brief article by Finn Moe, the Chairman of the Foreign Political Committee of the Norwegian Parliament and member of the leadership of the Norwegian Workers Party.

I am in favour of negotiations between East and West because I am afraid the alternative is an armaments race and increased tensions. In my opinion negotiations would contribute to a relaxation of tension, provided they lead to some positive results. The very fact that East and West could agree on some measures of disarmament or settle some minor political problems would create a new atmosphere and make the solution of more difficult problems easier.

I think it can be taken for granted that there will be negotiations in the course of the year. I am therefore of the opinion that it serves no useful

purpose to continue to exchange public letters about the negotiations or continue public polemic about who is responsible for the present tension or for the failure of the disarmament negotiations. It is an important element in the preparation of negotiations that each part takes it for granted that the other party is as interested in negotiations and relaxation of tension as he himself is.

The efforts should now be directed towards the preparation of negotiations. It is essential that the parties find ways and means to get in touch with each other through diplomatic or other channels. If other governments

could be helpful in this respect by transmitting views or explaining attitudes of the parties, they should do so. In the same way individuals could help in putting forward proposals for the solution of some of the problems in order to lead the public debate away from recriminations and in the direction of positive efforts towards successful negotiations.

As in my opinion the results of the negotiations depend entirely on the preparation of the negotiations I do not attach great importance to the level of talks or to the question of personalities. These questions are only important if one has in mind talks which are not well prepared, talks which would be the starting point for negotiations and not the outcome of close contact between the parties before the talks. I think however that there should be equal representation from both sides. And if both sides would agree to invite representatives from neutral or uncommitted nations this could only be helpful.

I consider it finally as important to have entirely aside the whole idea of a package deal and negotiate on such separate items where previous negotiations have shown there is a reasonable chance of agreement. This applies to the complex of disarmament problems as well as to the political problems. In my opinion it is somewhat dangerous to fix the items on the agenda beforehand. The agenda should only be fixed after preparatory talks have shown where progress is possible. I would personally be in favor of discussing the Rapacki plan to find out if and how a military and political disengagement in Central Europe is possible.

The above opinions are of an entirely personal character.

## FRANCE AND NORTH AFRICA

### GOODWILL OFFICES

WHILE THE TUNISIAN complaint to the Security Council against the air-raid on the village of Sakiet Sidi Youssef was morally and legally wholly justified, the French complaint against the assistance extended by Tunisia to the Algerian rebels had all the imprints of a trite political manoeuvre. At the moment both complaints

came up before this distinguished forum of the United Nations it was clear that the legal and political confrontation of the Tunisian and French arguments will be replaced by the good offices of third countries. This was actually borne out by the further developments: the US and Great Britain assumed the initiative to settle the

Franco-Tunisian dispute „within the family circle“, so that the only alternative open to the Security Council was to adjourn indefinitely.

Although the motives of the USA were essentially inspired by the wish and Great Britain in offering mediation to avoid in the Franco-Tunisian dispute all that might cause fresh breaches in western unity, their initiative was nonetheless assessed as a positive effort which may lead to the abatement of tension in the relations between France and Tunisia. However the task of the authorised emissaries Robert Murphy and his British opposite num-



ber Harold Bill was notably complicated at the very beginning by the incident in Remada which led to the closing of five French consulates and opened a new critical phase in Franco-Tunisian relations. Nonetheless the fundamental problem that confronts Murphy and Bill does not lie so much in the awkwardness of the situation as much as in the contrasting attitudes which should be drawn closer.

The French government considers that the good offices mission should lead to: 1) the establishment of mixed military patrols under the control of some neutral power belonging to the NATO which would supervise the forbidden zone along the frontier between Tunisia and Algeria; 2) to the revocation of the ban on the French troop movements in Tunisia; and 3) to the opening of talks with a view to reaching an agreement on the status of Bizerte.

The Tunisian government considers that the good offices mission should lead to: 1) the withdrawal of all French troops from Tunisia; 2) international control of French troop movements during evacuation; and 3) the indemnification of the victims in Sakiét parallel with the opening of a

debate on the possibilities of ending the war in Algeria.

In view of the diametrically opposed French and Tunisian platform for the establishment of contacts and talks the outcome of the Murphy-Bill mission is wholly uncertain. The acceptance of the French proposals would imply not only the moral and political sanctioning of the aggressive acts against Tunisia and a situation in North Africa which constitutes a permanent threat to world peace, but also the dodging of the real causes underlying the crises in Franco-Tunisian relations. The Tunisian demands on the contrary, fully correspond to the rights of privileges of the country as the damaged and threatened party. Besides, they also point to the actual source of the present tension in the relations between France and the countries of North Africa, i.e. the Algerian conflict without whose solution all „settlements“ will necessarily be of a temporary and transient nature. This means that every, even partial success of the goodwill mission will be welcomed by international public opinion, but it is likewise certain that the French government will bear the blame

for every failure and half-solution, all the more so as Bourguiba has proved on several occasions already that he is respecting the French interests in this part of the world to a certain extent.

In the recent statement of the New York Times that it is necessary to „re-examine and change the French policy in Algeria“, and the idea to create a North African Federation which is being attributed to US political circles indicate the limits to which Murphy could go, but it should be borne in mind that at the present juncture the mission consists rather in extending good offices, than embarking on arbitration activities and the proposal of broader solutions. It should also be remembered that not only narrow bilateral problems and broader issues of North Africa, but also the susceptible relations of the US and France as NATO allies and rivals on this part of the African continent converge in the Franco-Tunisian dispute.

R. K.

## PERSONALITIES AND POLITICS

### Two Presidents and One Movement

FOR A LONG time Peron was a synonym of Argentina and when he was ousted in the Autumn of 1955 there remained only one question: Is this also the end of Peronism? Last weeks elections in this big Latin American country have shown that Peronism exists without Peron and require the old question to be formulated in a new way: Whether after last weeks victory of the „intransigent radicals“ Peronism will embark on the way of reaffirmation and rapprochement to the former President, or on the way of assimilation and rapprochement to the newly elected President?

It should immediately be said that this will depend both on Peron, Frondisi and the Peronistas themselves. Those who were inclined to consider Peron as one of the many Latin American presidents who „were everything and came to nothing“ will have to change their views at least partially: the outcome of the Argentine elections became certain not when Dr Balbin the leader of the National Radical Party (the radical right) and Dr Frondisi the leader of the „Intransigent Radicals“ (the radical left) crossed swords before the elections, but after Peron appealed to his followers to vote for the latter. Over two million Peronistas were precisely that part of the electoral body on which the answer Balbin or Frondisi hinged. This means that the

external influence of Peron on the internal orientation of Peronism and Argentina will remain significant.

On his way to the presidency the „Intransigent“ Frondisi proved an excellent tactician: the well known opponent of Peron, became during the phase of the military junta a critic of Pedro Aramburu, while ingratiating himself with the Peronistas by the promise that he will reconstitute their civil rights, he also succeeded in reassuring the church by the promise that he will not restore Peron's laws. At the moment he appeared on the stage, his chances will again frequently depend on the extent to which he will support Peron (because of the feudals the church and all who contributed to Peron's fall) and adjust himself to Peronism (because of the broader strata of the working people).

The Peronistas taken more as a mass which followed Peron's popular measures and slogans than as an organized group may restore the confidence in their force and influence even without Peron. Whether the Peronist functionaries will draw closer to Frondisi in order to reacquire their lost positions on the political arena, and whether the working masses will become less sceptical with regard to the new President will be shown by the future events.

At any rate it may rightly be said that Peron influenced the fate of Argentina once again.



# Background of a Rebellion

N. DUBRAVČIĆ

THE REBELLION which broke out recently in Central Sumatra against the legitimate Government in Jakarta would not have exceeded the limits of a local episode, judging by its power and significance, were it not for the fact that it appears to be part of wider endeavours to shatter Indonesian unity and prevent the country's independent development. Although it is not likely that the political future of Indonesia will undergo any changes, this attempt to the extreme right-wing indicates the danger-covert but constant interference from foreign powers-which threatens Indonesian integrity and independence.

Since it won sovereignty, this young and vigorous Asian republic has been constantly subjected to pressure brought to bear on it by certain Western powers, with the object of cutting short its programme of internal consolidation and the strengthening of national unity, and above all with the object of changing the independent position, of Bandung in international relations. This interference in Indonesian affairs, as well as the efforts made to regain lost profiteering advantages, has a definite political intention: to make Indonesia, as a whole or in part,

renounce its non-bloc policy and join one of the power blocs. With this end in view, foreign pressure and foreign right-wing agents in the country, bankers and ambitious officers, are turning to account the internal difficulties of Sukarno's regime, and particularly stirring up discontent, in individual provinces, with the unfavourable aspects of administrative centralism and inadequate methods in the distribution of the national income. The present rebellion in Padang, both in character and demands, marks the culmination of foreign meddling in Indonesia's internal life.

In this dangerous game foreign influence have engaged a group of conservative politicians, financiers and military personages whose anti-communist tirades serve as a smokescreen for concealing definite political subversions: the shattering of the state unity and the abandonment of Sukarno's ideas regarding independent economic and political development. The programme of the so-called dissident government is too clear to allow of any doubts: as one of their first measures, the rebels announce their readiness to grant broad concessions to foreign capital, including the extension of the same

privileges to the Dutch as to other Western countries. As regards foreign policy, the Padang clique from the very first days of the rebellion, reflected the ideas which inspire the policy of Asian independence and solidarity.

How opposed to the deepest interests of the Indonesian people are the objectives of this group of adventurers is clearly shown by the fact that the rebellion has met with no response outside Central Sumatra, with the exception of Northern Celebes, whose dissenting commander supports the rebels. All the other parts of Indonesia stand firmly by the central Government and Sukarno's programme of internal stabilization, national harmony and an independent foreign policy. Free of foreign domination, the Indonesian people have given numerous proofs of high political maturity and the capability to settle unaided, and on the basic lines marked out by President Sukarno, the contradictions existing between the various regions, as well as tackle the difficulties and shortcomings which inevitably accompany the development of a young republic.

But although local in character and destructive in its programme, the Padang rebellion indicates a danger which is not a characteristic of Indonesia alone, and to a practice which should no longer be pursued in international relations: the habit of other countries of interfering in internal affairs which threatens not only the independent existence of individual states, but even the moral foundations on which the international community rests.

## ON THE CASE OF S/S „SLOVENIJA“

IN CONNECTION with the incident of the S/S „Slovenija“ and referring to the answer of the French Government to the Note of the Yugoslav Government, Jakša Petrić spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Secretariat stated:

BY OUR note of protest of January 27, in connection with the stopping of the S/S „Slovenija“ on the high seas and the seizure of her cargo, the Yugoslav Government noted that such an action on the part of the French authorities constitutes a flagrant violation of international law, especially the right to the freedom of the seas and free trade, basing its justified claims for the restitution of the cargo impounded and indemnity of loss ensuing from this French action on these premises.

In its answering note of February 15 delivered to the Yugoslav Ambassador in Paris, the French Government without dwelling at all on the fundamental constataions formulated in the Yugoslav note, is striving to justify its illegal act by invoking some provisions from 1906 as well as some internal regulations of 1937 on the prohibition of imports of arms to Morocco which cannot under any circumstances whatever be applied to, and logically connected with the dispute on

hand, nor can they serve as a justification of the arbitrary French action.

In its note the French Government is attempting quite unfoundedly to use the joint statement of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Algeria of December 14, 1957 in order to justify itself.

We are surprised by the fact that the French Government has failed to reply to the concrete demands of the Yugoslav Government which cannot be interpreted otherwise than by the lack of goodwill for the friendly settlement of this dispute.

Such an attitude of the French Government obliges the Yugoslav Government to examine the further possibilities and measures for the protection of its interests.



## THE MARCH ELECTIONS

Mitar BAKIĆ

Secretary General of the Federal People's Assembly



**T**HE ELECTIONS to the Federal and republican peoples assemblies are scheduled in March this year.

It is an indisputable fact that parliamentary elections constitute an extremely significant event in the political life of the country. The pre-election campaign and propaganda is paralleled by the activity of all political and social organizations as well as all the working people of our country, and enlisted all the strata of the Yugoslav society on the all-round control of the political, social and government organs in all domains of their activity. Furthermore the election campaign is evolving and being channeled towards the preparation and implementation of the program demands embodied in the major laws, declarations or resolutions of the highest legislative and political bodies. In this concrete case it is the fulfillment of the long range 1957-1961 economic plan that is involved as well as the consolidation and broadening of the rights and activities of the social organs, organs of socialist government in Yugoslavia.

Under the present circumstance the dominant international problems also give their imprint to our election policy and all measures undertaken in connection with the elections. This is also understandable, because in view of the present close social and political inter connection of mankind Yugoslavia both as a member of the international community and as a socialist country is keenly interested in the present alternative solutions of the crucial issues of mankind — peace or war; peace and the bright future of mankind ensured by the utilisation for general purposes of the present technological and social discoveries or war and a global catastrophe for all of us provoked by the use of atomic weapons.

The principles of active and peaceful coexistence: non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; international cooperation based on equal rights; the respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty; the struggle against aggression and the struggle for peace were always the starting point of international activity for socialist Yugoslavia since its foundation to the present day. Precisely this struggle for national independence against aggression for peace and other principles of active and international coexistence have ensured Yugoslavia an enviable position in the world and a vast international moral and political prestige. This prestige is partly due to the fact that the Yugoslav foreign policy is an integral part of the present progressive aspirations of the social forces in the world which are striving towards the same common objectives. Such ideals and objectives and such an activity characterize Yugoslavia in world public opinion as a democratic country and a distinguished prota-

gonist of the struggle for democracy and democratic international relations. This fact cannot be denied even by the most vehement critics of our socialist system.

There is no known case in history when the non-democratic, anti-popular and dictatorial regimes pursued a policy of peaceful cooperation and equal rights of states in international relations. The critics of our internal political and economic measures and relations should become acquainted with these historically tested facts and devote more serious thought to the democratic structure of our society and state in their assessment of our policy.

It is a known fact that pre-war Yugoslavia was a colony and appendage of the big capitalist powers in the most literal sense of the word. The entire Yugoslav economy was subjected to the interests of foreign ex-capitalistic groups and states. The constation is partially illustrated and borne out by the following data.

Foreign capitalists disposed with 49.5 percent of the total fixed capital investments in industry as a whole, 60 percent of mining investments and while in banking institutions 60 percent of stock capital belonged to foreign financiers. The average profit rate was 126.5 percent. Such a share and distribution of foreign capital enabled the organization of an unprecedented plunder and exploitation in all economic branches. These activities of the foreign capitalists were amply assisted and indorsed by the corrupt regimes of pre-war Yugoslavia.

These data are an essential and decisive factor in assessing the character of the antidemocratic home and foreign policy of pre-war Yugoslavia as this entire policy was guided by the interests of the big capitalist powers. The various bourgeois political parties in pre-war Yugoslavia served the same purpose. Needless to say these parties also struggled for the interests of the national bourgeoisie. The real value of these parties their **anti-national character and political amorality** was wholly revealed by the Peoples Liberation War. The parties disintegrated through collaboration with the occupying forces and in hostile activities continuing by other means and under wartime conditions their former policy of serving alien anti-Yugoslav interests pursued during the interwar period of 1918-1941. The circumstance that individuals or groups from these parties joined and fought in the Peoples Liberation War for the cause of the Yugoslav peoples only confirms the fact that these parties as entities disappeared from the minds of the Yugoslav peoples. Only an unpleasant memory remained.

The struggle revolution which took place in Yugoslavia during World War II wholly destroyed the political and social conditions for the existence parties because the socialist revolution apart from fulfilling the fundamental



all-national objective, also fulfilled its essential task, namely the liberation of the working people from capitalism thus placing the development of all strata of the Yugoslav society on a new socialist basis. The socialist system in Yugoslavia which is developing at full tilt for more than a decade is diametrically opposed to the capitalist system and therefore, — in view of the historical and social economic conditions created, — precludes the existence of several parties, so that even the political platform of a single political party becomes too narrow. Social development in Yugoslavia is tending and will lead, — in the distant future of course, — to the withering away of the Communist Party itself. The insistence and suggestions to establish several political parties, to restore the former parties, even under the social democratic label would under our conditions and relations be a counter-revolutionary measure and intention, as such a suggestion aims at the disruption of our socialist system and the undermining of the Yugoslav national independence. These suggestions are not prompted by a lack of understanding of Yugoslav social and political relations, but a disguised political action and intervention calculated to bring about a change of the social system in Yugoslavia and the subjection of its policy to the policy of other states. Democracy in a country is not measured to day by the number of parties and their names but the share of the working people in the government and management of the state. It is this „Trifle“ for which the entire workers class of the world is struggling that should be seen and understood in Yugoslavia.

In order to prove the totalitarian and undemocratic nature as well as the inevitable downfall of the present system, the critics of the socialist system in Yugoslavia prefer to take recourse to the analysis of the standard of living in Yugoslavia.

It is true that the standard of living in Yugoslavia lags behind the level reached by a series of capitalist countries but this is not our fault nor is our socialist system to blame therefor. On the contrary the roots of the present standard of living lie precisely in the exploitative policy of capitalism and the imperialist system as a whole. It is generally known that Yugoslavia was one of the least developed countries of Europe and that in such a country socialism could not and does not possess the magic power of working miracles within the short timespan of ten years and bring about such material and economic forces of society which capitalism created during the past two centuries. It is incorrect, unscientific and even dishonest to compare the standard of living of the Yugoslav citizens with the standard of western Europe and base the moral political value and future of the Yugoslav system on these differences without taking in account all the aforementioned facts. Furthermore, Yugoslavia is located in the neighbourhood and periphery of big powers which frequently threatened her national independence. Needless to say, the expansionist intentions and actions of the big powers and the cold war which characterizes the international situation since World War II obliged Yugoslavia to spend vast resources for national defence purposes. The share of national defence expenditure in the national income of the country during the 1953—1958 period was as follows:

1953 — 16%	1955 — 11.5%
1954 — 14.2%	1956 — 11%
1957 — 9%	

It is this fact which should be taken in account when our standard of living and our economic and political relations which are dependent on them are being discussed. In spite of these facts, however, the situation in Yugoslavia underwent vital and essential changes since 1955. As an illustration of these changes and the tempo of development of the Yugoslav economy let us state the fact that the national income rose by a total of approximately 80 percent during the 1947—1957 period. The increase of national income was mainly due to the major structural changes carried out in the Yugoslav economy. According to data from 1956, industry and mining account for 45 percent of national income, as compared to only 25 percent in 1939.

In order to prove the advantages of the socialist system in Yugoslavia I will cite a few data on the tempo of industrial development in some countries of western Europe as compared to industrial development in Yugoslavia during the 1953—1957 period while taking the 1953 average as a comparison base of 100.

Austria	144	Great Britain	116
Belgium	115	Holland	126
Denmark	112	Norway	127
France	140	Sweden	118
Western Germany	146	Yugoslavia	166
Italy	141		

The 1957—1961 plan foresees the following increase:

	Base index 1956 = 100	
	Total 1961	Annual average
National income	154,4	109,5
Industrial production	168,0	111,0
Agricultural production	142,7	107,4
Individual consumption	141,9	107,3
Standard of living	172,5	111,5

The implementation of these and other tasks which ensue therefrom by the internal logic of our system, require the full enlistment of all the working people of Yugoslavia; therefore the election propaganda lays particular stress on these tasks and the stabilization of the organs of social management. The broader rights of the organs of social and workers management does not only imply the expansion of the forms of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia, but also the guarantee of the fulfillment of the tasks set. The struggle for the fulfillment of these national tasks constitutes the essence and characteristic of the present election struggle and is therefore various and manifold in terms of citizen participation. Therefore the voters propose those men and women for candidates who afford the guarantee that they will strive wholeheartedly for the fulfillment of these objectives.

The internal economic and socio-political relations indicate that Yugoslavia is a more developed and consolidated country than in 1953. This difference led to certain changes in the present electoral system.

The institution of so called Candidacy Conferences has been introduced into the present electoral system. Such conferences were nonexistent in the 1953 electoral system. Candidacy Conferences were introduced for the purpose of enabling the democratic system of nomination of candidates on the part of the voters to be manifested to the maximum extent, as this system provides for the



still greater decentralization and democratization of the system of nomination of candidates, and ensures the greater share of voters in the proposal of individual persons for candidates for peoples deputies to the federal or republican parliaments. In point of fact the institution of the Candidacy Conferences consists in the following: the Voters Meetings choose persons who will run for election for peoples deputies at district candidacy conferences. After the nomination of candidates, the candidates proposal become the subject of renewed discussion and control on the part of the voters meetings, but this refers only to those candidates who polled at least 40 percent of the votes cast at the candidacy conferences. This does not preclude the possibility of proposing new candidates, i. e. persons who were not nominated by the candidacy conference. The candidates proposed by the Conference and the candidates subsequently proposed by the voters meetings must have the approval of at least one fourth of voters meetings from the territory of the constituency. Apart from this, the candidacy of other persons is possible even if they are not proposed by the conference and accepted by the voters meetings provided they have two hundred signatories from the territory of the constituency. In this way the political organizations are deprived of the monopoly and exclusive competence with regard to the proposal of candidates. We have embarked on this road, but do not preclude the intervention of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of Working People concerning the election of candidates and deputies.

Deputies to the Federal Council and Council of the Republics are elected directly. This system of direct election was adopted from the bourgeois parliamentary system, not because of the actual needs of economic and social relations but rather because of the traditions of the political struggle waged by our peoples in their national history for such a system and such rights. It is known that the parliamentary system in the western European sense of the word was not developed and traditional in Yugoslavia with the exception of the former Serbia, and that the struggle for universal and direct suffrage was one of the main democratic battles waged in our political history.

In the Yugoslav socialist system direct elections represent a social and political anomaly to an ever greater extent because they are contrary to our system of organization of government and social political relations. It is therefore extremely likely that we will abandon this system at the next elections for political representatives bodies and introduce the system of vote by delegates.

One deputy to the Federal Council is elected per every 60,000 inhabitants, while different keys are adopted for elections of deputies to the republican parliaments. These depend on the size of the territory and number of inhabitants. There can be no doubt that other specific national and historical factors are being taken in account in this respect.

Those candidates are elected who receive the absolute majority of votes of all voters registered in the constituency. If there are several candidates, the one who polled the largest number of votes is elected.

Elections to the Producers Councils are carried out according to an entirely different system, i. e. according to the principle of proportionate representation according to the share yielded by the individual economic branches (industry, transport, trade and agriculture) in total na-

tional income. Voting for deputies to the Producers Council in the constituency is carried out indirectly. Deputies to the Federal Peoples Assembly are elected by the committeemen of the respective economic branches in the district Producers Council, while for the republican parliaments the elections are carried out by the municipal committeemen of the Producers Council thus again affirming the commune as an independent and elementary unit of the Yugoslav social system. One deputy per every 70,000 producers is elected to the Producers Council of the Federal Peoples Assembly. (Both the producers and their families are covered by the term producer population). These ratios are different for the republican assemblies.

The Producers Council is a separate and co-equal house of Parliament. This is an original and specific Yugoslav creation which stemmed from our social and political relations. This institution marks the qualitative relations of our socialist system because it is through it that the leading role of the working people of Yugoslavia and their direct participation in all forms of social and political activities at all levels of state authority from the commune to the federal assembly is assured.

In order to complete the security and guarantee the sovereignty of the different nationalities in Yugoslavia the institution of the Council of Nationalities was established. According to the Constitutional Law of 1953 the individual republican councils send ten deputies to the Federal Council of the Federal Peoples Assembly, the Provincial Council of the Vojvodina Assembly six, while the Regional Council of the Autonomous Region of Kosovo-Metohia sends four deputies. The prime task of this body is to pay strict attention to the national sovereignty of the individual republics, provinces and regions. No constitutional changes may be implemented without the consent of this body; apart from this it may convoke whenever it considers that their sovereignty has been or may be violated by individual legislative regulations or measures. During the term of office of the previous Federal Assembly this body convened very rarely because it did not have real reason to do so, as the entire organization of the Yugoslav state, economy, and society, guarantee the sovereignty of the individual nations and the self-government of the individual republics.

The March elections in Yugoslavia will yield immense benefits to the consolidation of the national and political unity of the Yugoslav peoples, as the political struggle in such an atmosphere and for such objectives unites the Yugoslav society in all domains of its social and political activity. The Yugoslav socialist democracy is assuming newer and more concrete economic and social forms; it is refreshed by new activities and social factors which enable it to struggle more efficiently and freely against all limited, provincial and conservative habits and reactionary political conceptions. Yugoslavia as a socialist Federation is acquiring a more solid bases for its state sovereignty and national independence.

The significance of the March elections lies in these facts.



# Get Acquainted with Yugoslav Industry and Foreign Trade

## „Krivaja“

Wood  
Manufacturing  
Enterprise

### Zavidovići — Yugoslavia

OUR“ prefab factory builds two types of prefabricated houses.

1) Swedish type with lay-out according to customer's wishes

2) „ZK“ type standard design can be completely taken down and re-erected.

In both types of prefabricated houses the various parts have been designed in such a way that the architect has complete freedom to express his ideal in the appropriate form, while the highest technical and functional standards for modern and comfortable housing are guaranteed.

In Using the elements of either type of

prefabricated houses erection is extremely easy and can be carried out in the shortest possible time.

The Swedish type has horizontal outside wallboard siding of first class pine or plaster, while the „ZK“ type has vertical pine slab siding. The interior panels are of lesomite boards or plaster, this latter being for the Swedish type.

In order to acquaint you with both types and to give you more comprehensive information regarding them, here follows a more detailed description of both types of prefabricated houses.

#### 1. THE SWEDISH TYPE

##### *Construction*

THE basic material for the construction of this type of prefabricated houses is timber and timber products. All components of this house are of the metric modular system, and materials and elements for the construction may be ordered in 4 basic groups:

- flooring material
- vertical wall panels and ties
- structural elements and material for roofs and ceilings
- carpentry work.

FLOORING MATERIALS are joists for the underfloor (80/100 mm), tongue and groove flooring 22 mm thick, and moulding strips.

VERTICAL WALL PANELS are all of the same thickness (100 mm), whether they are for the exterior walls or inner partitions. The height of all panels is the same (2650 mm). Every panel may serve equally well as a vertically stressed supporting panel or as horizontal bracing element, the panels being manufactured in such a way that they support stresses in both directions.

The wall panels consist of a frame and a 100 mm thick TERZVULITE filler panel. The frame is built of „T“ shaped wooden rails, nailed into a rigid frame, braced by two diagonal struts and horizontal crossrails. These struts and crossrails give not only the required rigidity to the frame but also serve as an armature for the Heraklith type of insulating filler, which is pressed into the frame, constituting an excellent thermal and acoustic insulation.

There are 5 different standard vertical wall panels, according to the purpose they serve:

- plain wall panels in the following widths: 998, 878, 748 mm

#### HOUSE OF THE „SWEDISH“ SYSTEM







## HOUSE BUILT OF THE „SWEDISH“ SYSTEM

### ERECTION

**B**EFORE starting erection foundation trenches must be dug; after excavation is completed the concrete foundations are poured, and the pit for drainage and other utilities constructed.

Foundations under the main walls must be 250 mm wide and under the partitions 200 mm wide.

The main wall foundations must go down to solid ground and be not less than 800 mm, while for auxiliary and partition walls this depth may be less. After the foundations have been finished, the space between them must be filled with dry cinders of sand, or else earth, to a height 800 mm below the crown of the foundation wall. The remaining space is filled with coarse stone or gravel well packed. On top of this a concrete slab is poured, 80 to 100 mm thick, on which a layer of insulating material is laid, which must completely cover the slab. The house being without a basement the concrete slab may be poured only after all ducts and pipes have been laid, particularly where the slab is to be poured.

Foundations may be constructed without the concrete slab, and the house may have a basement. The most important work is proper insulation and laying of the foundations strictly according to instructions.

In order to facilitate erection all angles should be exactly right angle, and particular attention must be paid to the construction of the foundation walls which must be plumb and level.

Erection begins by placing the main beams on top of the insulated foundation. On the beams are erected the wall panels according to a pre-set schedule, and on top of these panels are placed the upper wall plates, to which the wall panels are nailed. To the wall plates are attached the roof trusses, cross-braced, and finally the gable-units are brought into place, or if the house has a hip-roof special elements for this roof are used. By nailing stripe to the rafters and laying the roofing tiles or shingles, the house is completely protected from rain and ready for the completion of all other parts.

If the outside walls are plastered, the felt protruding from under the main beams must be turned up and nailed to the beam and the vertical wall panels, after which plaster may be applied. In order to ensure proper adhesion of the mortar to the beam, it must be provided with rows of nails driven partially into the beam.

If the siding is of clapboard or lap-board, the felt lining has to be nailed to the main beams and than a weatherstrip is nailed on top of it to the beam, continuing with the clapboard siding on top of this weatherstrip.

- window panels „W“, width 1248 mm
- window panels „VI“, width 998 mm
- door panels for 12/14 doors, width 998 mm
- door panels for 13/15 doors, width 998 mm

In the above group are included stringers and ties such as: main bottom beams (150 x 80 mm) and upper wall plates, which are made in two sizes — one for the main outer walls (48 x 100 mm) serving as a stringer of the wall panels, and another for the partitions (24 x 100 mm), serving as a binder of the partition walls.

**ROOFING AND CEILING.** The roof is constructed of lightweight wooden lattice trusses. These trusses are used for various roof coverings, but primarily they are intended for asbestos-cement shingles (Salonite) and roofing tiles.

If the roof is built with two slopes only, standard gable units are used, but if it is of the hip-roof type, for the main center section of the roof structure light wooden trusses are used and for the other two sections special hip sections are used (130 x 80 mm).

This group of materials includes struts and king posts for the roof construction (24 x 100 mm), laths for the shingles or tiles, friezes (tongue and groove strip, 22 mm thick) for the eaves. Ceilings are from strips 18 mm thick and as sub-structure posts of 48 x 48 mm.

Fittings are of well seasoned fir. Two types of windows are used:

- „W“ model windows
- „VI“ model windows.

The „W“ model is used mainly for residential housing projects and work-rooms. The window is of two-vent, double casement construction. The „VI“ window is used for all service rooms, and is of one-vent, double casement construction.

The windows are made in two different designs. For houses with plaster finish of the outer walls, the windows are built without a sub-frame, with or without venetian blinds. For houses with clapboard or lap-board siding, the casements are made with subframes, with or without venetian blinds.

Four different types of doors are offered:

- 12/14 door
- 13/15 door
- single-leaf entrance door, opening 1998 mm
- two-leaf entrance door, opening 1998 mm.

The 12/14 door is used for residential and working premises, single leaf, flush paneled or partially glazed.

The 13/15 door is used for service rooms, single-leaf, flush panel. Doorframes are the same for masonry walls with outside plaster finish or stud walls with clapboard siding.

The entrance doors are essentially an independent structural unit, single or double leaf, always glazed.

All carpentry work received a prime costing of paint before leaving the factory.



It is of the utmost importance that all joints be well filled in with plaster, if the wall is plastered on both sides, but if clapboard or lapboard sidings are used as exterior wall finish, plastering the joints is applied only to the interior walls.

Plastering is carried by means of wire netting or expanded metal strips not less than 120 mm wide. The strip is nailed to the TETZVULITE panels in such a way that it is held away from the framing of the wall panels, and is then diagonally braced to the TETZVULITE panels by annealed steel wire. All points where the netting and the wires are attached must be coated with cement mastix. In this way on all joints a cement coating is formed, adhering firmly to the TETZVULITE part of the wall panels, permitting expansion of the panels without cracking of the joints.

After this the ceiling framing is brought in to place, as well as all electrical conduits, and the plumbing. The interior walls are covered with plaster and the floor is laid.

But before the above finishing work is done, fire-walls and chimney flues have to be erected, according to design.

After finishing all the above work, painting of the walls and interior woodwork may start as well as the installation of sanitary and kitchen appliances. The terrazzo floors are then sand-papered. If the house is plastered on the outside, the exterior walls receive a coat of paint, and if clapboard or lapboard sidings are used, they get a prime coat of paint and a second one of oil varnish.

## INSULATION

- a) insulation against damp is achieved by building the house on raised foundations, and pouring a concrete slab under the whole floor area, all being properly covered with insulating felt, and receiving at least two bituminous coats.
- b) thermal and acoustic insulation is ensured by the 100 mm thick TETZVULITE panels 30 or 50 mm sheathing and plastering, or plastering only. Ceiling insulation is by TETZVULITE panels 30 or 50 mm thick, or by some other appropriate material.

## PLUMBING AND ELECTRICAL INSTALLATIONS

- a) plumbing and drain pipes are standard, galvanized, cast, lead or ceramic mains and drains. All plumbing is done by cutting channels into the TETZVULITE panels, and after completion of the installation, the channels and grooves are covered with plaster over a strip of wire meshing or expanded metal

strip. Appliances are installed after the plumbing is finished.

- b) electrical conduits are laid into specially cut grooves in the TETZVULITE panels. Bergmann type protective tubes are used throughout, together with correlative materials, as indicated by the plans.

## „Z K“ TYPE PREFABRICATED HOUSES

**T** HIS type of prefabricated houses is built in two models:

- residential and week-end.

The residential model is intended for permanent habitation, and is designed with more complete insulation, whereas the „Week-end“ model is intended for week-end or camping sites and colonies, and is less completely insulated, unless it is to be erected in winter sports resorts.

## CONSTRUCTION

FLOORING elements consist of a wooden frame, the under-side of which is closed by wood panelling, the core of filler is of 5 cm thick TETZVULITE panel and a layer of bituminous paper, and the top plate are slip-lap joined wooden strips or boards. This is the so-called „warm flooring“, used in the residential model of prefabricated homes. These flooring panels have excellent thermal insulating properties. For the „week-end“ model, intended for summer use only, this thermal insulation is omitted. However, if the house is intended for use during

the winter season, the above warm flooring panels should be included. In both instances the top surface may be protected and finished with appropriate floor enamel, not only to protect the floor, but also to facilitate maintenance and cleaning.

The flooring panels are made in the following lengths: 2, 3 or 4 metres, and are applied in accordance with the layout of the rooms.

VERTICAL WALL PANELS are manufactured in two different types, one for exterior walls and one for partitions. The width and the height are the same for both types (width 998 mm, height 2300), but the thickness is different. The partition panels are 42 mm main wall panels 116 mm thick.

EXTERIOR WALL PANELS consist of a wooden frame, the overall dimensions being  $998 \times 2300 \times 95$  mm. The frame is horizontally divided into three fields by interlocking bars and braced by diagonal struts. The frame is on one side lined with vertically laid strips or boards, joined by tongue and groove. Then follows a layer of insulating roofing felt, a 50 mm thick TETZVULITE panel, 45 mm of air space, and on the other side of the frame a lesomite panel, painted in the desired colour.

Interior or partition wall panels consist of a wooden frame faced on both sides with hard lesomite board and painted to specification. Partition wall panels are made in two sizes  $998 \times 230 \times 42$  mm or  $748 \times 2300 \times 42$  mm.



INTERIOR OF A „WEEKEND“ HOUSE





ROOF AND CEILING UNITS are of two different designs because two roofing materials are used, viz., sheet metal and Salonite asbestos-cement shingles.

SHEET METAL roof covering permits roofs with a very slight slope. This permits the use of roof trusses built from square posts, the upper face of which is beveled so as to obtain the required inclination of the roof. Two posts spaced 1 metre apart are lined on the top with sheet metal at the factory, and on the under face the posts are connected by interlocking laths serving at the same time as framing for the application of the ceiling insulation and the ceiling panels. The ceiling insulation is of 30 mm thick TETZVULITE panels fastened to furring strips nailed to the ties of the roof trusses.

SALONITE shingles require steeper roofs, and the roof trusses are therefore of a different design. Lightweight wooden girders are used, the bottom being reinforced by a aniling strip which the ceiling insulation is fastened.

#### ERECTION

**B**EFORE erection the foundations must be prepared, foundation walls built in concrete and water and drainage pit built. Foundation width must be 250 mm, and extend not less than 800 mm height must not be less than 300 mm. Foundations for week-end and residential homes are different. For week-end houses the foundations consist of two concrete beams, with a pit for the sanitary and wa-

ter mains, without chimney base plate. For the residential type of house, interlocked foundation walls are built, the span between the floor joists being built in masonry. These houses have a chimney ground plate, and the bottom part of the order that the chimney and fire-place should be rightly placed when erecting the walls of the house. The house may have a basement, but in this case the foundations must remain strictly within the plans of the foundation as laid out for the house without basement. All foundations have to be plumb and level and the wall intersections at right angles.

After completion of the foundation work, on the insulated top of the foundation walls templates are laid and on them the floor joists. The joists are 70×150 mm, and are fixed to the foundation wall 1 metre apart. After that the floor panels are laid and secured in place by special fasteners holding them down to the joists, and at the same time they are interlocked by special clips. Next follows the erection of the corner posts or studs. The outer wall panels, forming roof supporting element, are placed in prepared grooves in the floor panels, and into the ceiling insulation and the ceiling panels thin strips of soft lesonite are inserted, serving as sealing strips.

The top wall plate or purlin secures the wall panels at their top end, and serves at the same time as base for the roof construction. If the house has sheet metal roofing the purlin supports the roof trusses, the joints of these being pro-

tected by sheet metal lining, but if the roofing material is asbestos-cement shingle, girder tupe trusses are used. Across the rafters stripping is nailed and the shingles are fastened in the ordinary way to this framing.

At a spacing of 2 metres the roof construction is connected with the floor joists and foundations by steel ties, bracing the whole structure, protecting the roof against gusts of wind, and controlling the working of the wood due to changes in atmospheric conditions.

After the roofing has been finished, the ceiling insulation and the ceiling panels are brought into place.

The next step is the erection of the partitions, sanitary installations and utilities, which have to be connected to the mains in the above-mentioned pit in the foundations.

After this the electrical installation and plumbing is carried out, connection to the outside water and electric supply mains established, the walls distempered or wallpaper applied, etc. In the kitchen and bath-room the bottom trimming strip is painted in protective oil varnish, glazing of the windows as well as the last coating of paint and varnishing of the carpentry work is executed. The last step in the erection is to cover the joints of all panels with mouldings.

After completion of work in the house the entrance or porch is built, the walls being masonry or stone, and the house is ready for habitation.

#### INSULATION

- insulation against damp is secured by building the home on foundation walls. Excellent weather protection is afforded by good roof construction and vertical sidings of fir impregnated with linseed oil.
- thermal insulation is secured in the best way, all exterior components, the ceiling, vertical wall and floor panels being manufactured from materials having high thermal insulating properties (wood, roofing belt, TETZVULITE panels, air spaces, lesonit).

#### PLUMBING AND ELECTRICAL INSTALLATION

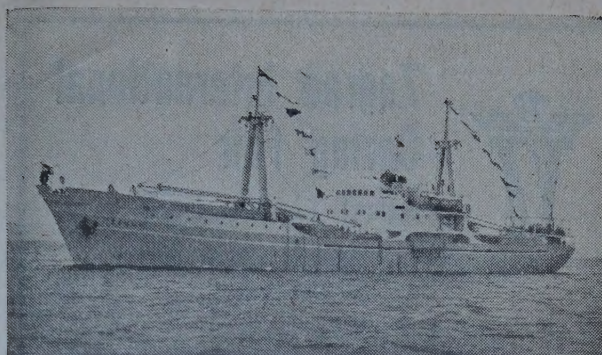
**A**LL INCOMING and outgoing mains and drainage pipes are concentrated in the pit, and have to be connected with the city mains. The house is delivered complete with all plumbing, including a kitchen sink, water closet, bathtub or shower cabinet, and electric heater for warm water for the bathroom and kitchen.

All wiring is according to standard, IPP wires being used in combination with Bergmann conduits.



# JADRANSKA SLOBODNA PLOVIDBA — SPLIT

Captain Vlado PROSENICA



THE SHIPPING enterprise Jadranska Slobodna Plovidba was founded in Split on the 1st of January 1947 with the basic task of transporting minor loads along the coast. At the time of its foundation the enterprise had 23 small ships of various kinds, 15 of which were sailing boats, as well as 4 steamers and 4 rowboats. The total capacity of these vessels amounted to 4,121 tons.

Owing to the diversity of its units and the worn condition of many of the vessels, the enterprise was unable at that time to undertake any major commercial tasks on the Mediterranean.

In 1951, however, the composition of the fleet changed, as ships under 300 tons were delivered to the republic's shipping enterprises, and in the following year its quality was considerably improved. Six new ships of the „Vodonosac“ type were included in the service, some old vessels were discarded, and by the end of 1952 the enterprise possessed 30 ships with a capacity of 31,000 tons. That year marked the turning-point in the history of the enterprise, as an extensive investment programme was drawn up with a view to enabling it to undertake large coastal navigation. This capital investment programme was to cover several years, and its purpose was to modernize the firm's merchant fleet.

In 1953 the first ships of the „Drava“ type, with a capacity of 732–750 tons, were included in the service. In that year the fleet was reinforced with eight ships of this type: „Drava“, „Drina“, „Korana“, „Krka“, „Kupa“, „Morava“, „Soča“ and „Vardar“ and with two steamships, „Sava“ and „Dunav“, of 1500 tons each.

In 1954 four more ships of the „Drava“ type came from the shipyards, and in 1955 the remaining four ships of the „Sutla“ type were added to the fleet, so that the series of 16 vessels of this type was finally completed. The enterprise then had at its disposal a modern fleet of 24 ships, totalling 18,000 tons capacity.

Today the enterprise owns the following shipping:

4 motor-ships of 418 tons built in 1952

16 motor-ships of 830 tons built in 1953/55

2 steamships of 1,500 tons renovated in 1953

1 steamship of 600 tons renovated in 1953

1 motor-ship of 530 tons renovated in 1951 and

3 „Pilot“ type motor-ships of 1500 tons built in 1957/1958.

The enterprise has therefore 27 vessels with a tonnage of 17,317 GRT and a carrying capacity of 21,916 tons.

While the average age of the ships in 1947 was 31 years, the modernization of the fleet reduced this figure considerably, so that in 1957 it was six years.

With its up-to-date ships, the enterprise now maintains the following regular services:

Adriatic Sea — Red Sea every fifteen days, stopping on the outward and return, Trieste, Limassol, Beyrouth, Alexandria, Aqaba, Djerdap, Port Sudan, Mas-sawa, Assab, Djibouti and Aden.

Black Sea — Near East every fifteen days, stopping on the outward and return voyages at Constantza, Beyrouth, Alexandria and occasionally at Port Said, Limassol and Izmir.

Black Sea — Adriatic Sea every twenty days, plying between the port of Constantza (in Rumania) and Dubrovnik.

Adriatic Sea — Israel every fifteen days, putting in at Rijeka, Šibenik, Dubrovnik, Haifa, Tel Aviv and conversely.

In the near future the enterprise plans to extend its line services to other parts of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Head Office of Jadranska Slobodna Plovidba (Free Adriatic Navigation) is in Split, Titova Obala 2, telephones 35-81, 36-94, 36-53, 35-98. Telex No. 02,417. Telegrams JADROPLOV SPLIT“ P. O. B. 123.

Branch Office in Rijeka, Palača „Jadran“. Telephones: 26-23, 31-13, 26.26. Telegrams JADROPLOV RIJEKA.

## Our New Contributors

MILAN ŠAHOVIĆ, Doctor of Laws, head of the Department for International Law of the Institute for International Politics and Economy. He was a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the Seventh Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly and to the First Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Agency. Dr. Šahović is a member of several international associations for international law and one of the secretaries of the Yugoslav Association for International Law.

MITAR BAKIĆ, Secretary of the Federal People's Assembly, member of the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of Montenegro, and member of the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. After the liberation of the country, he was Secretary General of the Yugoslav Government and Secretary of the Government's Coordination Committee. As a member of the Yugoslav delegation, he presided at the meetings of the UN General Assembly in 1950 and 1952.

VLADIMIR VELEBIT, Doctor of Laws, State Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. After the liberation he was Assistant Foreign Minister, President of the Committee for Tourism, Assistant Minister of Commerce, and Yugoslavia's Ambassador to Italy, and Great Britain.

LJUBOMIR RADOVANOVIĆ, jurist, Ambassador in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, member of the Faculty Council of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade. He was Yugoslavia's Ambassador to Turkey, and he represented Yugoslavia in the Permanent Secretariat of the Ankara Agreement. He has written many papers and books on law and foreign political affairs.

ALBERT VAJS, Doctor of Laws, Professor of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, President of the Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia. He was Yugoslavia's delegate to the International Military Tribunal in Nürnberg, chief of the State Commission for War Crimes, head of a department of the Institute for International Politics and Economy. He has published several works on international law and on the history of law.





## Zagreb International Spring Fair

April 11-20, 1958

THE GREATEST SPRING TRADE EVENT  
OF YUGOSLAVIA

Includes

A GENERAL FAIR OF PRODUCTS OF THE  
FEDERATIVE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA  
and special exhibits

- INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF CONSUMER GOODS
- EXHIBITION OF YUGOSLAV TRADES
- INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF COMMERCIAL AND HOTEL EQUIPMENT
- MODERN INTERNATIONAL DRESS REVIEW
- INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC BOOKS

THE ENTIRE YUGOSLAV INDUSTRY AND A RECORD  
NUMBER OF FOREIGN EXHIBITORS WILL TAKE  
PART IN THE FAIR. ARTICLES WILL BE DISPLAYED  
ON 465,000 SQUARE METRES OF EXHIBITIONS  
SPACE

### MEETINGS AND TALKS

**YUGOSLAV-AUSTRIAN TALKS.** Talks were opened in Vienna on February 25 between the Government delegations of Yugoslavia and Austria on jointly determined outstanding problems in bilateral relations. The Yugoslav delegation is headed by Dušan Kveder Ambassador in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. The talks will subsequently be resumed in Belgrade.

**ITALIAN COOPERATIVE DELEGATION IN YUGOSLAVIA.** An official delegation of the National Cooperative League of Italy (Lega nazionale delle cooperative e mutue) headed by Secretary General Verenin Grazia arrived in Yugoslavia at the end of February. The delegation is a guest of the Central Co-operative Federation of Yugoslavia. During their stay in Belgrade and other places in Yugoslavia the delegation will become acquainted with the Yugoslav cooperative movement especially in the domain of agriculture.

**COOPERATION OF YUGOSLAV AND POLISH JURISTS.** Talks between Yugoslav and Polish experts on international law were opened in Belgrade on February 12. The jurists of the two countries discussed various problems pertaining to the field of air law, the United Nations Charter and some problems of international family law.

**ACADEMIC UNION TO CONVENE.** Academician Dr Marko Kostrenčić, Vice President of the Academic Council and Vice President of the Yugoslav Academy of Art and Science will represent Yugoslavia at the General Assembly of the International Academic Union in Brussels from June 9-12.

### CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL EVENTS

- February 16 — Ivan Gošnjak General of the Army and Mijalko Todorović member of the Federal Executive Council spoke at the big pre-election meeting in Kragujevac.
- February 16 — The President of the Executive Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina Osman Karabegović spoke at a pre-election convention in Sarajevo.
- February 17 — Aleksandar Ranković Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council spoke at a big pre-election conference of the Voždovac constituency in Belgrade.
- February 19 — President Josip Broz-Tito received a delegation of the Raša mines in Istria on the 150ieth Anniversary of these mines.
- February 20 — An agreement on the establishment of a permanent joint Yugoslav-Polish Committee for mutual economic cooperation was signed in Warsaw between the Yugoslav and Polish governments.
- February 23 — Petar Stambolić, President of the Federal Peoples Assembly and Boris Krajger, President of the Executive Council of Slovenija spoke at a pre-election mass meeting in Maribor.
- February 23 — Blažo Jovanović, President of the Peoples Assembly of Montenegro and Avdo Humo member of the Federal Executive Council spoke at a big pre-election rally held in Mostar.

### DIPLOMATIC DIARY

- February 19 — President Tito received the newly appointed US Ambassador to Yugoslavia Karl Rankin who presented his credentials on this occasion.
- February 20 — President Tito received the new Belgian Ambassador Robert Rotchild who presented his credentials.
- February 21 — President Tito gave his approval for the appointment of the new Indian Ambassador to Belgrade Navab Aly Jawar Bahadur former Indian Ambassador to Cairo.

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